

98-84390-15

English Land Restoration
League

Special report, 1893

London

1894

98-84390-15

MASTER NEGATIVE #

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
PRESERVATION DIVISION

BIBLIOGRAPHIC MICROFORM TARGET

ORIGINAL MATERIAL AS FILMED - EXISTING BIBLIOGRAPHIC RECORD

333 Z1 v 5	English land restoration league. Among the agricultural labourers with the "Red van". 1892-95. London 1897-98 1894 (Special reports, 1892-1895) 1893) 24 p., 21 cm. Vol. of Paraph's
------------------	--

only rd

RESTRICTIONS ON USE: Reproductions may not be made without permission from Columbia University Libraries.

TECHNICAL MICROFORM DATA

FILM SIZE: 35 mmREDUCTION RATIO: 11:1IMAGE PLACEMENT: IA ☒ IB ☐ IIB ☐DATE FILMED: 4-6-98INITIALS: HTTRACKING #: 32722

FILMED BY PRESERVATION RESOURCES, BETHLEHEM, PA.

30515 Cup

AMONG THE AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS

WITH THE

"RED VANS."—1893.



LONDON:

OFFICES OF THE ENGLISH LAND RESTORATION LEAGUE,
8 DUKE STREET, ADELPHI, W.C.

FEBRUARY, 1894.

ONE PENNY

THE LAND FOR THE PEOPLE



This Cartoon is reduced from "Cartoons, Social and Political."
CYNICUS PUBLISHING CO., 59 DRURY LANE, LONDON.

ENGLISH LAND RESTORATION LEAGUE.

Agricultural Labourers

RED VANS."

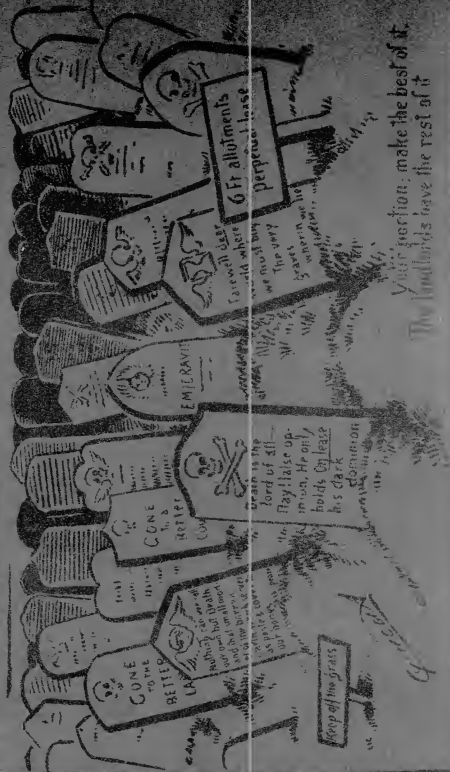
PRICE ONE PENNY.

OFFICE OF THE ENGLISH LAND RESTORATION LEAGUE

10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

THE LAND FOR THE PEOPLE



This Cartoon is reduced from "Caricatures, Songs and Follies."
CYNICUS PUBLISHING CO., 39 DRURY LANE, LONDON.

ENGLISH LAND RESTORATION LEAGUE.

SPECIAL REPORT, 1893.

AMONG THE Agricultural Labourers

WITH FIGURE

"RED VANS."

"This pleasant weekly publicity to the Labourer's opinion, Dissatisfied and Discontented with
and Wishes something to be done! We Labourers then ought to be satisfied with what we
get. Be satisfied, We wish you to Publish it Please — Copies of note sent to 'Red Van'
coloured by an agent, VICTORIAN Labourer, 1893."

PRICE ONE PENNY.

LOS6081

OFFICES OF THE ENGLISH LAND RESTORATION LEAGUE
8 DULAC STREET, ADELPHI, W.C.

FEBRUARY, 1894.

English Land Restoration League.

GENERAL COMMITTEE (1893-94).

*† H. V. ANCRETILL
* J. ANDREWS
Rev. A. C. AUCHMUTY, M.A.
R. BANNER
J. BANNERMAN, R.N., L.C.C.
CHAS. BEALE
* J. BINES
Rev. J. W. BLACK, M.A. (Launcells)
* S. M. BURKHOUGH
Dr. G. B. CLARK, M.P.
Rev. R. S. CLARKE (Plymouth)
C. A. V. CONYBEARE, M.P.
HEN COOPER, L.C.C.
"CYNICUS"
J. H. DALZIEL, M.P.
*† R. R. DICKINSON
J. C. DURANT (Hastings)
BEN ELLIS
* C. L. FITZGERALD
* G. A. GASKELL
* Rev. S. D. HEADLAM, B.A., M.L.S.B.
* H. W. HILL
*† H. B. HOLDING, M.T.S.B.
THOS. HUNTER, L.C.C.
H. HUTCHINSON
R. S. JACKSON, L.C.C.
Rev. Dr. FAN JONES (Mostyn)

Hon. Treasurer—† WILLIAM SAUNDERS, M.P., L.C.C.

General Secretary—† FREDERICK VERINDER.

These (together with the Officers of the League and one Delegate from each Club or other society affiliated to the League) form the Executive.

† Members of the Van Sub-Committee (1893). ‡ Trustees of the "Red Van Fund."

Offices:

8 DUKE STREET, ADELPHI, LONDON, W.C.

THE "RED VAN FUND" is quite distinct from the "General Fund" of the League. Cheques, Postal Orders, etc., should be made payable "to the account of the Red Van Fund," and crossed "City Bank, Ludgate Hill."

All Communications respecting the League should be addressed to the Secretary at the office as above.

The Campaign of the Land Restoration Vans (1893) being now concluded, the Secretary is in a position to arrange Special Lectures on "Life in our Villages," "Land and Labour in Town and Country," and similar subjects by the various Lecturers who have been travelling with the "Red Vans."

*† SUGGESTIONS FOR THE "RED VAN" CAMPAIGN OF 1894 WILL BE GLADLY RECEIVED BY THE SECRETARY FOR CONSIDERATION BY THE SPECIAL SUB-COMMITTEE.

TOM MANN
* Miss C. E. D. MARTYN
J. McDUGALL, L.C.C.
J. F. MUIRHEAD, M.A.
* F. PALMER, Junr.
* F. P. E. POTTER (Cork)
3D'ARCY W. REEVE (Marlow)
* Dr. RUNDLETT
* THOMAS SHORE
Rev. Prof. SHUTTLEWORTH, M.A.
* J. E. SIMONDS
FRANK SMITH, L.C.C.
W. G. STEADMAN, L.C.C.
LAURENCE STEPHENS, L.C.C.
W. STOCKBRIDGE, L.C.C.
Rev. Prof. SYMES, M.A.
(Nottingham)
* Miss HELEN TAYLOR
T. F. WALKER (Hirmingham)
J. BRUCE WALLACE, M.A.
SYDNEY WEBB, L.C.C.
J. G. WEIR, L.C.C.
JOHN WILSON, M.P. (Durham)
Ald. the Rev. C. FLEMING
WILLIAMS, L.C.C.
*† J. E. WOOLACOTT.

The Land Restoration Vans—1893.

REPORT.

INTRODUCTORY.

AN edition of ten thousand copies of the last "Red Van Report," issued a year ago, was exhausted shortly after midsummer. The report was reviewed by a large number of newspapers, and the work of the Vans during the past twelve months has been the subject of report or criticism in nearly all the principal English journals. It may, therefore, be fairly assumed that the methods and objects of the "Red Van" campaign are now well understood among those who, whether as friends or foes of the Land Restoration movement, are interested in the greatest social question of our time. For the benefit of those who may not have seen the two previous reports—now out of print—the Committee think it well to repeat briefly that their efforts during the past three years have been mainly devoted to the three following objects:—
(1) To educate the agricultural labourers, by means of lectures, leaflets, etc., in the principles of Land Restoration; (2) to promote their organisation for the bettering of their conditions, and especially with a view to political action on the Land Question; and (3) to collect accurate information as to the social condition of the villages. Speaking generally, the propagandist work of the Vans during the campaign of 1893 has been ably and successfully carried on by the lecturers and their assistants, most of whom had the advantage of previous experience. The work of organisation has been steadily continued in the face of unusual difficulties, arising largely from the industrial conditions resulting from an early and short harvest giving less than the usual amount of employment; and the enquiry into the condition of the agricultural population in the villages has resulted in the collection of a large amount of information of unusual interest.

As in former years, the work of the Vans has been carried on in close connection with Unions of agricultural and general labourers in the counties visited. Registered under the Trades Union Acts of 1871 and 1876, these organisations have adopted the ordinary objects of trade unions, but with an important difference: the emphasis is laid on the vote rather than on the strike. It is true that, under certain conditions, and after due deliberation, their members may be called upon by their

Executive to "withhold their labour," but the most elaborate provision is made for exhausting the last possibilities of negotiation and arbitration before a strike is called. They propose to use their combined voting power at every election of a national, county, district, or parish representative, with the object of bringing about the ultimate extinction of landlordism. As these Unions have no "benefit section" they are able to carry on their work on a comparatively small subscription, and as their operations are confined, in most cases, within the limits of a single county, the members are able to keep in close touch with the democratically elected Executive by which each Union is governed and its funds administered.

Three new Unions have been formed since the issue of the last report—in Hertfordshire, Warwickshire and Wiltshire respectively—and each of these has received the help of a "Red Van" during the past summer. Another Van has been working in co-operation with a Union in Norfolk, which is now affiliated to the E.L.R.L.

The Executive were led by exceptional conditions existing in Berkshire to send the remaining Van on a second visit to that county, where special efforts seem to have been made by the landlord class to counteract the effects of the previous campaign in 1892.

The disposition of the Vans during the period covered by the present report was therefore as follows:—

"Red Van" No. 1.—NORFOLK.—Henry Anckettill, then Organising Secretary of the League, addressed a series of meetings in May in connection with the Norfolk and Norwich Amalgamated Labour Union. (*Reg. No.*, T.U. 592; *Secretary*, George Edwards, Aylmerton, Roughton, Norwich.) The Van left London on July 10th, under the charge of H. B. Holding, whose place was taken after July 23rd by George Palmer. The meetings were held in villages round Norwich, and between that city and the coast from Cromer to Yarmouth. In travelling to and from Norfolk opportunity was taken to renew the friendly relations with the Eastern Counties Labour Federation (with which "Red Vans" have co-operated during the past two years) by a series of meetings in ESSEX and SUFFOLK, in connection with branches of the Federation.

"Red Van" No. 2.—HERTFORDSHIRE.—A meeting has been held in practically every village of this county in connection with the Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire Land and Labour League. Anckettill addressed a number of preliminary meetings in January. A delegate meeting, at which the Union was formally established, was held at Hatfield on February 18th. The Van was in the county from April 30th till near the end of September, under the charge of W. W. Bartlett. (*Reg. No. of Union*, T.U. 883; *General Secretary*, W. H. Boon, 5 Bridge Street, Hitchin.)

"Red Van" No. 3.—BERKSHIRE.—The Van, with W. G. Pearson as lecturer, worked mostly in the Northern Division, from June to September, and meetings were held with Van No. 5, as it passed through the county on its way to and from Wiltshire. The meetings were held in connection with

the Berkshire Agricultural and General Workers' Union, which has been, and still is, carrying on a plucky fight under the exceedingly adverse conditions which prevail in this landlord-ridden county. (*Reg. No.*, T.U. 817; *General Secretary*, L. E. Quelch; *Organising Secretary*, Ernest Clarke; *Registered Office*, 15 Market Place, Wokingham.)

"Red Van" No. 4.—WARWICKSHIRE.—At the suggestion of Alderman Bolton King, J.P., Anckettill addressed six meetings in this county in March, and assisted to form the first six branches. The Union was constituted, and rules adopted, on April 19th, at Leamington. (*Reg. No.*, T.U. 837; *General Secretary*, Charles Canning, College Lodge, Leamington.) John Murdoch was the lecturer in charge of the Van, which thoroughly covered the ground in the South-Eastern and North-Eastern Parliamentary Divisions of this large county, to which the Committee hope to be able to spare a Van next season.

Excellent work had, however, been done with this Van before it left for Warwickshire, on May 8th. At the invitation of a member of the Executive resident in the district, who generously gave a special donation to cover the cost, a series of meetings was held in the Dartford Division of KENT. Anckettill, as lecturer, made good use of the opportunities for promulgating the principles of the League offered in this suburban constituency. It may be interesting to mention that he was accompanied during part of his tour by a Russian journalist, who was writing on the work of the Vans in the agricultural districts for a Russian paper.

"Red Van" No. 5.—WILTSHIRE.—Another large county which it was found impossible to cover in one season. The Wiltshire General and Agricultural Workers' Union was founded last winter by John S. Hamilton. (*Reg. No.*, T.U. 849; *General Secretary*, John S. Hamilton, Southgate House, Devizes.) Anckettill spoke at twelve meetings in February. The Van arrived in the county, *via* Berkshire, early in May, and returned to London on September 20th, having visited all the villages of East and South Wilts. Benjamin Riley was the lecturer.

The lecturers were welcomed back to London on September 30th, at a social gathering at the residence of Thomas Shore, a member of the Executive, at which a number of members and friends of the League were invited to inspect the Vans as fitted out for the campaign. The lecturers were shortly afterwards entertained to supper by the Democratic Club, the Rev. Stewart D. Headlam in the chair. At these gatherings the lecturers present gave brief reviews of the work done in the several counties.

The following is a complete table of all the meetings held under the "Red Van" Trust during 1893, including the preliminary meetings held by way of preparation for the visit of the Vans:—

COUNTY.	Preliminary Meetings	MEETINGS WITH VANS.					Total.
		No. 1.	No. 2.	No. 3.	No. 4.	No. 5.	
Bedfordshire ....	..	..	2	..	..	..	2
Berkshire .....	..	..	..	75	..	9	84
Buckinghamshire ..	..	..	..	1	6	1	8
Essex .....	..	7	..	..	..	..	7
Hertfordshire ..	13	..	120	..	..	..	133
Kent .....	..	..	..	18	..	..	18
Middlesex .....	..	..	3	..	3	1	7
Norfolk .....	..	7	35	..	..	..	62
Northamptonsh. ....	..	..	..	1	1	..	2
Oxfordshire .....	..	..	..	..	4	..	4
Suffolk .....	..	10	..	..	..	..	10
Warwickshire ..	7	..	..	..	106	..	113
Wiltshire	12	..	..	..	..	120	132
	39	72	125	76	138	131	581

AN IMPORTANT CONFERENCE.

At the request of several of the Unions, the Executive of the League, shortly after the conclusion of the campaign, called a Conference of Delegates to consider questions of common interest. The Conference met on October 16th, in the board room of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union, Limited, Clerkenwell Road, London. The following Unions were represented:—Berkshire Agricultural and General Workers' Union, Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire Land and Labour League, London and Counties Labour League, Norfolk and Norwich Amalgamated Labour Union, Warwickshire Agricultural and General Workers' Union, and Wiltshire Agricultural and General Workers' Union. Fred. Verinder, General Secretary of the League, was unanimously elected Honorary Secretary to the Conference, which sat for nearly eight hours, and accomplished a large amount of useful work, besides making a careful examination of the Parish Councils Bill from the labourer's point of view. The resolutions adopted were as follows:—

1. That a Manifesto on the unemployed question be issued from this Conference, and that the Union Secretaries now present meet to formulate the same. [The publication of the Manifesto was afterwards postponed, pending the result of a long correspondence which arose between the Secretary and the Local Government Board on Resolution 2.]
2. That the Rt. Hon. H. H. Fowler, President of the Local Government Board, be requested to receive a deputation of delegates from the various labourers' Unions to urge the necessity of his immediately formulating and publishing Rules or Regulations necessary to give effect to the old Acts of George III. and William IV., empowering the Guardians to hire land for Allotments, and also to impress upon him the importance of using all his powers as President of the Local Government Board to induce the Boards of Guardians in the rural districts to provide work for the unemployed.

3. That this Conference considers it necessary that the following amendments be made in the Local Government Bill.*

4. That this Conference protests against the iniquitous system prevailing in so many counties, under which labourers are compelled to live in cottages belonging to the farmers, as being detrimental to freedom and as tending to reduce wages to a minimum; and calls upon the Government to insert a clause in the Local Government Bill to the effect that (1) the Irish Acts with reference to labourers' cottages shall with the necessary modifications apply to England and Wales, and (2) that the Local Government Board be empowered to make such modifications by Rules in the said Acts, and such Rules shall have effect as if contained in the Act.

5. This Conference protests against the general tone of the Sub-Commissioners' Reports on the Agricultural Labourer, as being far more favourable than the facts warrant, and asks the public to withhold its judgment until an opportunity be afforded of taking statements from the labourers themselves.

6. That in the opinion of this Conference the principal cause of the poverty of the workers in the rural districts is the monopoly by the few of the land which is the common birthright of all, and that no lasting improvement in the condition of the agricultural labourer can be effected unless and until the system of private ownership of land is abolished and the whole of the rent of the land taken in taxation for general public purposes.

HOW LANDLORDS ARGUE.

Whoever else may be doubtful as to the effectiveness of the "Red Van" campaign against landlordism, the landlords and their friends have no doubts whatever on the subject. The better the work of the Vans becomes known, the more bitter becomes the opposition of the landlord class. Their methods this year have included, in addition to the inevitable attacks upon the League and the labourers' Unions in the Tory press, a marvellous application of the "boycott," and the offering of actual personal violence to some of the lecturers.

Berkshire has earned for itself an unenviable distinction in this respect. There is probably no other county in England so completely under the domination of the Tory landlord as Berkshire. Every type of landlord flourishes there, from the spendthrift and profligate absentee "nobleman" to the benevolent despot who builds "model villages" in which the workers obtain as "charity," at the sacrifice of their citizen rights, some slight material advantage over their neighbours.† Special efforts seem to have been made during the winter of 1892-3 to stamp out the "discontent" which had been "fostered" by the visit of the "Red Van" in the preceding summer. When it was known that the League had entered upon a second crusade in the county, some people seem to have completely lost their tempers. So entirely are the labourers under the thumbs of the village magnates that the mere presence of the landlord or his agent or of the big farmer at the meeting was sufficient to repress all demonstrations of approval or sympathy, unless the night

* The amendments related to franchise; use of schoolroom for public meetings; control of charities; allotments (abolition of one-acre limit); prohibition of sale of public lands; protection of commons and village greens; and labourers' cottages.

† It is said that the "English Gentleman," caricatured by J. P. Sullivan as "Sir Ope de Covenston," is a Berkshire landlord, and those who know him do not consider the picture overdrawn. (See *The Quer Side of Landlordism*, with 17 illustrations, reprinted from the *Strand Magazine*. Published at the League office, one penny.)

happened to be quite dark; for the labourer who votes for a Land League resolution becomes a marked man, and may have to pay the penalty of eviction. Sometimes the representatives of law and order attempted a little horse-play, or tried to bribe the labourers to mob the lecturer. Under cover of darkness the defenders of "law and order" three times attacked men who were (or were supposed to be) peacefully sleeping in the Van; twice they tried to run the Van and its occupants into the river; once they tried to send it and its inmates, in the middle of the night, down a steep hill; and once—with unwonted courage—some organised roughs made an open attack upon the lecturer at an evening meeting. It is hardly necessary to add that these disorderly persons were drawn not from the "masses" but from the "classes" of the village.

For some time it seemed as if these assailants were to find willing allies in the county police. Night after night the lecturer was threatened with prosecution for holding his meeting in some open space or other, or for "causing an obstruction" with the Van before or after the meeting. Shut out of the domains of private landlords, often excluded from the inns,* and harassed by the police along the roads and on the open spaces and village greens, the lecturer had good reason to appreciate the taunt of an opponent that lecturing with a "Red Van" was "a very nice job this fine weather." At last the storm broke. A summons for obstruction, returnable on August 1st, was taken out by the Superintendent of Police at Abingdon. Mr. A. R. Cluer, barrister, of London, appeared for the defence, instructed by Mr. J. E. Simonds, hon. solicitor to the League. The charge of "obstruction" broke down hopelessly under cross-examination, and the summons was promptly dismissed. After the report of the case appeared in the county papers nothing more was heard of the other threatened prosecutions, the police returned to their ordinary duties, and the rowdiness of the opposition was considerably abated.

A REACTIONARY COUNTY COUNCIL.

The Essex County Council—a body eminently representative of Essex landlordism—recently submitted to the Home Secretary for approval certain draft Bye-laws, which embodied a dangerous and very insidious attack upon the work which is being done by means of lecturing vans:—

BYE-LAWS.

MADE BY THE COUNTY COUNCIL OF ESSEX ON THE 3RD DAY OF OCTOBER, 1893, FOR THE GOOD RULE AND GOVERNMENT OF SO MUCH OF THE COUNTY AS IS SITUATE WITHIN THE METROPOLITAN POLICE DISTRICT.

1. An owner of land shall not cause or suffer any such land within two hundred yards of any Highway Street, or of any Dwelling House, to be occupied so as to cause annoyance, injury, or disturbance to residents in the neighbourhood by any Tent-dweller, Squatter, Gipsy or any other person dwelling in a Tent, or Van, or other similar Structure.

* E.g., at Theale no sort of accommodation for Van or horse could be obtained at any public-house in the village. This want of civility is especially suspicious in face of the fact that several of the houses are "tied" to a local brewer, who publicly denounced the Van and all its works on the occasion of its former visit.

2. A Tent-dweller, Squatter, Gipsy or other person shall not use as a dwelling-place so as to cause annoyance, injury or disturbance to residents in the neighbourhood any tent or van or other similar structure placed on any land situated within two hundred yards of any Highway or Street or of any dwelling-place.

3. No Tent, Van or other similar Structure shall be pitched, erected, drawn on to or remain on any Common, or the unenclosed waste of any Manor, so as to cause annoyance, injury or disturbance to residents in the neighbourhood.

PENALTIES.

Every person who shall offend against either of the foregoing Bye-laws shall be liable for every such offence to a penalty not exceeding Five Pounds.

The Common Seal of the said County Council of Essex was hereto affixed at a meeting of the said County Council held this third day of October one thousand eight hundred and ninety-three pursuant to a resolution then passed and in the presence of—
Seal.

ANDREW JOHNSTON, Keeper of the Key of the Seal.
H. GIBSON, Clerk of the Council.

The original draft of the Bye-laws was even more drastic than that here printed; the restriction of their operation to the Metropolitan Police District, and the insertion of the saving clause about "annoyance, etc.," being due to objections taken by the Home Secretary himself, before the Bye-laws came under the notice of the League.

The Van Sub-Committee of the League immediately lodged a protest against these Bye-laws with the Home Secretary; memorialised the Privy Council in favour of their disallowance; and appealed to the various organisations of Van dwellers, and to the Societies using Vans for propagandist purposes, to join in their protest. They represented that—

(1) If these Bye-laws were sanctioned by the Home Department a disastrous blow would be struck at the right of public meeting in the rural districts; that the illegal enclosure of commons and waste lands would thereby be greatly facilitated; and that a large amount of educational work in the villages, now carried on by the Vans of the League and of various other social, political, religious, temperance and educational bodies would be put a stop to.

(2) That the saving clause would not protect the League—plenty of landlords would be ready to give evidence that the "Red Van," with its lecturer belling forth on "their" common or village green, is "occupied so as to cause annoyance, injury or disturbance" to them.

(3) That Section 9 of the Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1885, gives large and sufficient powers to the sanitary authority to deal with tents, vans, or similar structures which may be in such a state as to be a nuisance, or injurious to health, or overcrowded, or in which persons may be suffering from an infectious disease. The new Bye-laws are therefore (a) unnecessary; (b) contrary to the spirit of the Statute, because their effect will be, not to regulate the use of Vans in the interests of public health, but altogether to suppress their use for trading or propagandist purposes.

At the request of the League, the Home Secretary first enlarged by three months the period within which the Bye-laws should not come into force, and then, having considered the League's objections, gave the Essex County Council a strong hint, upon which they acted, with the following result, as recorded in the *Local Government Journal*:—

To meet the objections of the "Red Van" League and other associations sending lecturers into the country, the Parliamentary Committee of the Essex County Council have remodelled the Bye-laws which they some time ago submitted to the Home Secretary for the good rule and government of that part of the county which is within the Metropolitan Police District. The bye-law to which special objection was taken provided that "no tent, van, or other similar structure shall be pitched, erected, drawn on to or remain on any common or the unenclosed waste of any manor, so as to cause

annoyance, injury or disturbance to residents in the neighbourhood." It is now proposed to omit this altogether, and to add the following proviso:—"Provided that nothing in these Bye laws shall apply to tents, vans, and similar structures used for the accommodation of preachers, lecturers, and persons holding public meetings."—L. G. J., Jan. 6th, 1891.

THE VILLAGE GREENS.

This complete victory for the League was a fitting termination to a struggle carried on during the whole summer against a long series of attempts to shut the open spaces of the villages against the "Red Vans." It was a special instruction to the lecturers that, in choosing a meeting place, they were to give the preference to any common or village green, the public use of which might be in dispute between landlord and people. Quite early in the campaign it became a matter of common occurrence for the Van to be visited by a flunkey of the lord of the manor, or of the owner of "the big house," or by the village policeman, with an intimation that "vans were not allowed to stand" on the green or common, or that Mr. P. or Lord Q. "did not permit" public meetings to be held there. Sometimes the great man himself set forth his pretensions. Now and then the lecturer was informed that the Liberal Van or the Salvation Army had been warned off the ground on some former occasion, and it was hinted that unless the "Red Van" followed their example terrible consequences might be expected to follow. The address of the League and the name of the lecturer were solemnly recorded in the policeman's note-book. Occasionally some usurper of public rights went off post-haste to consult his solicitor. But in no single case had these threats the desired effect. The meetings were held, and these instances of "landlordism in the making" afforded useful texts for the speeches. Threats of prosecution reached the office daily, but in not a single instance was a summons actually issued.* The landlords are beginning to recognise the truth of Henry George's prophecy that if they once come out into the open to fight for their "rights" the battle of Land Restoration will be won.

A STRIKING CONTRAST.

In the fifteenth century, as Professor Thorold Rogers has shown,† the ordinary wages of agricultural labourers were equivalent to about 2½/- a week of our currency, with an increase of about 50 per cent. in harvest time. Provisions were extraordinarily cheap. The work was probably far more regular than now: eight hours was a working day. When women worked in the fields—which was rarely—they were equally well paid with the men. The peasant's hut and curtilage was occupied at a fixed rent of 2/- a year, which would be less than 6d. a week of our money; the curtilage of his cottage was far larger than the villager's garden is in our time; he had his share in the common of pasture; he was able to keep poultry, probably a cow, certainly pigs; his employer constantly gave him portions of food, under the name of nonschences, daily; in harvest time his wages were not only increased, but he was frequently boarded as well.

* The unsuccessful charge at Abingdon above referred to was one of breaking a a borough bye-law by causing an "obstruction" in the market-place.

† *Six Centuries of Work and Wages* (1884); pp. 327 ff. 540 ff.

Nothing could well exceed the sharpness of the contrast which presents itself when we compare the condition of things thus described with the present condition of the agricultural labourer. There is little to add to the detailed statements made in last year's report, except that they apply, with slight variations, to the counties visited since, and that where there is any change to be noted it is invariably a change for the worse.

The ordinary wages of a day labourer in East and South Wiltshire are generally about 10/- a week (18 a day), but 9/-, and even 8/- only, are paid by some employers. Over the greatest part of Hertfordshire 11/- and 12/- are paid to the daymen, or, where a cottage is provided, a shilling a week less. The wages in the parts of Norfolk visited this year are about the same as in Hertfordshire. The formation of the Labourers' Union in Berkshire had the effect, during last winter and summer, of preventing a reduction below the figures quoted in last year's report. Weekly wages of 13/-, 14/- and 15/- are common in Warwickshire; often the pay is lower, and sometimes higher; but cottages are considerably dearer than in the other counties.*

The wages above quoted are summer wages, subject in most instances to a reduction of 2½/- a day in winter, when the total weekly earnings are still further reduced by the greater irregularity of employment, the labourers being usually paid only for the days they are actually at work.

Men whose work includes the care of horses and cattle are usually paid 1½/- a week over and above daymen's wages, with sometimes a free cottage, but their hours of work are much longer, and include Sunday attendance on the stock.

Harvest pay varies greatly. The long hours and hard work of the harvest season are sometimes compensated by increased or doubled wages, sometimes overtime money is paid by the hour in addition to the ordinary pay, sometimes a lump sum is paid for the whole harvest, sometimes the pay is "by the piece" at so much an acre. Everywhere the harvest earnings of 1893 seem to have been less than usual, those who have had the work getting 15/- or £1 less than in former years, while many men usually employed have this year found themselves "without a harvest." Bad farming, the laying down of arable land to grass, and the introduction of machinery† are rendering the high pay of harvest, of which so much is

* The Buntingford and Royston Guardians presented a memorial to the Hertfordshire County Council in September last to the effect "that the wages paid by the County Council to such labourers (as they employ on the roads) is excessive in proportion to their labour, and exceeds the wages paid to agricultural labourers in this district." The "excessive" wages paid by the Council amounted to 1½/- a week, which was of course a nett wage, with no harvest pay, allowances or extras. A little later the Abingdon Guardians (Berks), when compelled by the agitation of the Berkshire Labourers' Union to find work for the unemployed, refused to pay more than 16s 4d. on the ground that the local farmers were paying their men no more. In December the Malden Rural Sanitary Authority (Kent) on the same ground cut down the wages of their roadmen from 2s 3d to 2s/- a day. These frank confessions on the part of public bodies, largely composed of farmers, afford valuable corroboration of the accuracy of the "Red Van" reports, and serve to justify the fifth resolution passed at the Labourers' Conference and above quoted (see p. 7).

† The same causes are rapidly transforming the day worker into a mere casual labourer.

SOME LABOURERS' BUDGETS.

Number and Ages of Children ..	A. (Berks), Five (3-12 yrs.)	B. (Herts), Two.	C. (East Wilts.), Six (3-14 yrs.)	D. (East Wilts.), Seven (4 mth-13 yr.)	E. (Warwicksh), Eight.	F. (Norfolk), Two (under 5 yrs.)
Average Weekly Income	11/-	13/- and Cottage	13/6 *	10/- *	15/-	12/6
Rent	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Rates	1 0	8 6	1 6
Flour	0 2	..
Bread	4 6	7 6	..
Butter	5 3	0 4	..	..
Eggs	..	5 3	0 5	0 4	..	5 4
Tea	..	0 10	0 9	0 4	..	0 5
Coffee	..	1 2	0 9	0 4	2/0	0 7
Lard	0 4	0 8	..	..
Sugar	..	0 7 1/2	0 10	0 8	0 10	0 5
Bacon	..	0 11	1 1	1 0	..	..
Chicken	..	0 4 1/2	0 3	0 3 1/2	1 0	0 8
Swedish	..	0 4 1/2	0 3	0 3 1/2	1 0	0 8
Meat	..	1 10	1 10	1 10	1 0	1 4
Coal	..	0 3	1 1	1 8	1 0	0 5
Oil, Candles, Blue, Soap, Soda, Pepper,	..	0 6 1/2	0 8	0 7 1/2	..	..
Salt, &c.	0 4 1/2	..	..	..
Beer	2 0 1/2	..	..	..
Tobacco	..	0 2	0 3	0 3	..	..
Clothing
Insurance ("Club")	0 10	0 3 1/2	..	0 7
	10 11 1/2	13 0	13 8 1/2	11 5 1/2 *	15 0	12 3 *

* See Notes on opposite page.

C.—The lecturer says that in the West of England, where the wages are low, the labourer is expected to keep his family on the land, and to do with something less to eat. The lecturer says: "I put the items down exactly as Mrs. gave them to me, and when I asked how they managed for shoes, clothing, etc., she replied: 'That when clothing was bought, they had to do with something less to eat.'"

C.—Labourer on farm in East Wilts at 9/- a week. Eldest boy (aged 13) earns 1/6 making the weekly income 13/6 as stated, and the rest of the family live on the land. The father was formerly secretary of a branch of the National Union. He told me "he never had any beer unless he chanced to get a tip, and then he sometimes treated himself to a pint."

D.—This family of nine persons is wholly dependent on a labourer's wages of 10/- a week. He actually earns an extra shilling for cash fortnightly, but this is not included in the budget. The deduction of rent from wages seems to be general in this village, where there are married men with families working for 9/- a week, out of which one farmer deducts 1/6 a week for rent, leaving a nett sum of 7/6 to provide food and clothing for a family for seven days!

E.—The lecturer spent quite three-quarters of an hour in conversation with the labourer's wife in a vain endeavour to elicit the details of her family budget. The difference can only partly be explained by the occasional 11/6 to be met out of an average income of 10/- a week. The fact is that, while the children are young, the family necessarily runs into debt. The poor woman who furnished this budget admitted that it was impossible to get food and clothing for the family in the village unless by running into debt, and at the present moment she is in debt to the miller for 10/-.

F.—Four boiling water on a bush of bread; flavoured with pepper and salt. The lecturer says that in the West of England, where the wages are low, the labourer is expected to keep his family on the land, and to do with something less to eat. The lecturer says: "I put the items down exactly as Mrs. gave them to me, and when I asked how they managed for shoes, clothing, etc., she replied: 'That when clothing was bought, they had to do with something less to eat.'"

NOTES ON THE LABOURERS' BUDGETS.

A.—Labourer in village between Newbury and Abingdon. The lecturer says: "I put the items down exactly as Mrs. gave them to me, and when I asked how they managed for shoes, clothing, etc., she replied: 'That when clothing was bought, they had to do with something less to eat.'"

C.—Labourer on farm in East Wilts at 9/- a week. Eldest boy (aged 13) earns 1/6 making the weekly income 13/6 as stated, and the rest of the family live on the land. The father was formerly secretary of a branch of the National Union. He told me "he never had any beer unless he chanced to get a tip, and then he sometimes treated himself to a pint."

D.—This family of nine persons is wholly dependent on a labourer's wages of 10/- a week. He actually earns an extra shilling for cash fortnightly, but this is not included in the budget. The deduction of rent from wages seems to be general in this village, where there are married men with families working for 9/- a week, out of which one farmer deducts 1/6 a week for rent, leaving a nett sum of 7/6 to provide food and clothing for a family for seven days!

E.—The lecturer spent quite three-quarters of an hour in conversation with the labourer's wife in a vain endeavour to elicit the details of her family budget. The difference can only partly be explained by the occasional 11/6 to be met out of an average income of 10/- a week. The fact is that, while the children are young, the family necessarily runs into debt. The poor woman who furnished this budget admitted that it was impossible to get food and clothing for the family in the village unless by running into debt, and at the present moment she is in debt to the miller for 10/-.

F.—Four boiling water on a bush of bread; flavoured with pepper and salt. The lecturer says that in the West of England, where the wages are low, the labourer is expected to keep his family on the land, and to do with something less to eat. The lecturer says: "I put the items down exactly as Mrs. gave them to me, and when I asked how they managed for shoes, clothing, etc., she replied: 'That when clothing was bought, they had to do with something less to eat.'"

F.—Bread is baked at home, hence the expenditure in flour is larger, and coal has to be bought all the year round. "Norfolk dumplings" made from the dough (boiled) are a great dinner dish. The two or three lbs. of meat (4d. to 6d. a lb.) are usually boiled and the "liquor" used as gravy with the dumplings. "Tea-kettle broth" is a breakfast dainty ("Four boiling water on a bush of bread; flavoured with pepper and salt"). The lecturer says that in the West of England, where the wages are low, the labourer is expected to keep his family on the land, and to do with something less to eat. The lecturer says: "I put the items down exactly as Mrs. gave them to me, and when I asked how they managed for shoes, clothing, etc., she replied: 'That when clothing was bought, they had to do with something less to eat.'"

F.—Bread is baked at home, hence the expenditure in flour is larger, and coal has to be bought all the year round. "Norfolk dumplings" made from the dough (boiled) are a great dinner dish. The two or three lbs. of meat (4d. to 6d. a lb.) are usually boiled and the "liquor" used as gravy with the dumplings. "Tea-kettle broth" is a breakfast dainty ("Four boiling water on a bush of bread; flavoured with pepper and salt"). The lecturer says that in the West of England, where the wages are low, the labourer is expected to keep his family on the land, and to do with something less to eat. The lecturer says: "I put the items down exactly as Mrs. gave them to me, and when I asked how they managed for shoes, clothing, etc., she replied: 'That when clothing was bought, they had to do with something less to eat.'"

F.—Bread is baked at home, hence the expenditure in flour is larger, and coal has to be bought all the year round. "Norfolk dumplings" made from the dough (boiled) are a great dinner dish. The two or three lbs. of meat (4d. to 6d. a lb.) are usually boiled and the "liquor" used as gravy with the dumplings. "Tea-kettle broth" is a breakfast dainty ("Four boiling water on a bush of bread; flavoured with pepper and salt"). The lecturer says that in the West of England, where the wages are low, the labourer is expected to keep his family on the land, and to do with something less to eat. The lecturer says: "I put the items down exactly as Mrs. gave them to me, and when I asked how they managed for shoes, clothing, etc., she replied: 'That when clothing was bought, they had to do with something less to eat.'"

F.—Bread is baked at home, hence the expenditure in flour is larger, and coal has to be bought all the year round. "Norfolk dumplings" made from the dough (boiled) are a great dinner dish. The two or three lbs. of meat (4d. to 6d. a lb.) are usually boiled and the "liquor" used as gravy with the dumplings. "Tea-kettle broth" is a breakfast dainty ("Four boiling water on a bush of bread; flavoured with pepper and salt"). The lecturer says that in the West of England, where the wages are low, the labourer is expected to keep his family on the land, and to do with something less to eat. The lecturer says: "I put the items down exactly as Mrs. gave them to me, and when I asked how they managed for shoes, clothing, etc., she replied: 'That when clothing was bought, they had to do with something less to eat.'"

F.—Bread is baked at home, hence the expenditure in flour is larger, and coal has to be bought all the year round. "Norfolk dumplings" made from the dough (boiled) are a great dinner dish. The two or three lbs. of meat (4d. to 6d. a lb.) are usually boiled and the "liquor" used as gravy with the dumplings. "Tea-kettle broth" is a breakfast dainty ("Four boiling water on a bush of bread; flavoured with pepper and salt"). The lecturer says that in the West of England, where the wages are low, the labourer is expected to keep his family on the land, and to do with something less to eat. The lecturer says: "I put the items down exactly as Mrs. gave them to me, and when I asked how they managed for shoes, clothing, etc., she replied: 'That when clothing was bought, they had to do with something less to eat.'"

F.—Bread is baked at home, hence the expenditure in flour is larger, and coal has to be bought all the year round. "Norfolk dumplings" made from the dough (boiled) are a great dinner dish. The two or three lbs. of meat (4d. to 6d. a lb.) are usually boiled and the "liquor" used as gravy with the dumplings. "Tea-kettle broth" is a breakfast dainty ("Four boiling water on a bush of bread; flavoured with pepper and salt"). The lecturer says that in the West of England, where the wages are low, the labourer is expected to keep his family on the land, and to do with something less to eat. The lecturer says: "I put the items down exactly as Mrs. gave them to me, and when I asked how they managed for shoes, clothing, etc., she replied: 'That when clothing was bought, they had to do with something less to eat.'"

F.—Bread is baked at home, hence the expenditure in flour is larger, and coal has to be bought all the year round. "Norfolk dumplings" made from the dough (boiled) are a great dinner dish. The two or three lbs. of meat (4d. to 6d. a lb.) are usually boiled and the "liquor" used as gravy with the dumplings. "Tea-kettle broth" is a breakfast dainty ("Four boiling water on a bush of bread; flavoured with pepper and salt"). The lecturer says that in the West of England, where the wages are low, the labourer is expected to keep his family on the land, and to do with something less to eat. The lecturer says: "I put the items down exactly as Mrs. gave them to me, and when I asked how they managed for shoes, clothing, etc., she replied: 'That when clothing was bought, they had to do with something less to eat.'"

F.—Bread is baked at home, hence the expenditure in flour is larger, and coal has to be bought all the year round. "Norfolk dumplings" made from the dough (boiled) are a great dinner dish. The two or three lbs. of meat (4d. to 6d. a lb.) are usually boiled and the "liquor" used as gravy with the dumplings. "Tea-kettle broth" is a breakfast dainty ("Four boiling water on a bush of bread; flavoured with pepper and salt"). The lecturer says that in the West of England, where the wages are low, the labourer is expected to keep his family on the land, and to do with something less to eat. The lecturer says: "I put the items down exactly as Mrs. gave them to me, and when I asked how they managed for shoes, clothing, etc., she replied: 'That when clothing was bought, they had to do with something less to eat.'"

F.—Bread is baked at home, hence the expenditure in flour is larger, and coal has to be bought all the year round. "Norfolk dumplings" made from the dough (boiled) are a great dinner dish. The two or three lbs. of meat (4d. to 6d. a lb.) are usually boiled and the "liquor" used as gravy with the dumplings. "Tea-kettle broth" is a breakfast dainty ("Four boiling water on a bush of bread; flavoured with pepper and salt"). The lecturer says that in the West of England, where the wages are low, the labourer is expected to keep his family on the land, and to do with something less to eat. The lecturer says: "I put the items down exactly as Mrs. gave them to me, and when I asked how they managed for shoes, clothing, etc., she replied: 'That when clothing was bought, they had to do with something less to eat.'"

F.—Bread is baked at home, hence the expenditure in flour is larger, and coal has to be bought all the year round. "Norfolk dumplings" made from the dough (boiled) are a great dinner dish. The two or three lbs. of meat (4d. to 6d. a lb.) are usually boiled and the "liquor" used as gravy with the dumplings. "Tea-kettle broth" is a breakfast dainty ("Four boiling water on a bush of bread; flavoured with pepper and salt"). The lecturer says that in the West of England, where the wages are low, the labourer is expected to keep his family on the land, and to do with something less to eat. The lecturer says: "I put the items down exactly as Mrs. gave them to me, and when I asked how they managed for shoes, clothing, etc., she replied: 'That when clothing was bought, they had to do with something less to eat.'"

F.—Bread is baked at home, hence the expenditure in flour is larger, and coal has to be bought all the year round. "Norfolk dumplings" made from the dough (boiled) are a great dinner dish. The two or three lbs. of meat (4d. to 6d. a lb.) are usually boiled and the "liquor" used as gravy with the dumplings. "Tea-kettle broth" is a breakfast dainty ("Four boiling water on a bush of bread; flavoured with pepper and salt"). The lecturer says that in the West of England, where the wages are low, the labourer is expected to keep his family on the land, and to do with something less to eat. The lecturer says: "I put the items down exactly as Mrs. gave them to me, and when I asked how they managed for shoes, clothing, etc., she replied: 'That when clothing was bought, they had to do with something less to eat.'"

F.—Bread is baked at home, hence the expenditure in flour is larger, and coal has to be bought all the year round. "Norfolk dumplings" made from the dough (boiled) are a great dinner dish. The two or three lbs. of meat (4d. to 6d. a lb.) are usually boiled and the "liquor" used as gravy with the dumplings. "Tea-kettle broth" is a breakfast dainty ("Four boiling water on a bush of bread; flavoured with pepper and salt"). The lecturer says that in the West of England, where the wages are low, the labourer is expected to keep his family on the land, and to do with something less to eat. The lecturer says: "I put the items down exactly as Mrs. gave them to me, and when I asked how they managed for shoes, clothing, etc., she replied: 'That when clothing was bought, they had to do with something less to eat.'"

said, a mere tradition; and an opinion is generally expressed in many districts that, after paying for the extra food and drink necessitated by the extra toil, the harvest leaves little or no surplus over the ordinary wages.

Women who work in the fields are paid, for somewhat shorter hours than the men, from 8d. or 9d. to 1/2 a day.

THE DEPOPULATION OF THE VILLAGES.

The increase of population between 1881 and 1891 over all England and Wales was 11.7 per cent. None of the counties visited during the past year show anything like this normal increase, though some of them have populous industrial centres within their area. Berkshire and Warwickshire have increased 9.2 per cent.; Hertfordshire, 8.4; Norfolk and Wiltshire only 2.7 and 2.3 per cent. respectively. As was pointed out in last year's report, although the increase in *Berkshire* is less than the normal, more than half of it has gone to swell the population of Reading, and in thirteen of the thirty "registration sub-districts" into which the county is divided, there is an actual decrease. *Hertfordshire* has 28 sub-districts; eight of them show a decrease, and in many of the others the increase is but slight. *Norfolk*, with 59 sub-districts, has decreased in 38 of them, and in 17 others the increase is below the normal. The net increase for the whole county is 10,857, but the Norwich district has an increase of 123,128, leaving a nett decrease of 2,271 for the rest of the county. *Warwickshire* has increased by 71,245, which is almost entirely accounted for by Aston, Solihull, Coventry and Nuneaton; and in 17 out of 39 sub-districts there is a loss of population. In *Wiltshire* (increase 2.3 per cent.) Swindon (with great railway works) shows a very large increase (38 per cent.); Alderbury (near Salisbury) has increased nearly 19 per cent.; Highworth is about normal. But of the 37 sub-districts in the county, 27 have decreased and seven others have increased at less than the normal rate. Over the whole agricultural area of the county there is an actual or virtual decrease of population.

WEAVERED WOMEN.

From three of the counties visited, the lecturers have reported an extensive system of sweating, of which the wives and daughters of the agricultural labourers are the victims. In the villages between Colchester and Ipswich, women are employed by certain London firms to "finish" trussers and other garments. The price which the women get for "finishing,"—i.e., for stitching linings into trousers, putting on numerous buttons, pressing and finishing all buttonholes, and fixing six tacking—is, in the case of corduroy and molekin trousers, *twopence a pair*. Buttons are supplied, but the worker has to spend threepence for thread on every dozen pairs of trousers. For tweed and other materials of a comparatively thin sort, only *five farthings* a pair are paid. In some cases investigated by the lecturer, the earnings of women at this work averaged only *one penny an hour*. A firm at Ipswich sends out linen and flannel trousers (for tennis, boating, etc.), to be made throughout—that is, bundles of a dozen "shapes" are supplied, and for putting these together with a sewing machine, making and fixing pockets, putting on eleven buttons,

ironing and finishing, the worker gets *sixpence a pair*. Boys' knickerbockers are also made out of materials supplied for *twopence a pair*.

In the villages around Abingdon (Berkshire) a good deal of "slop" work is done by women. They are paid 2½d. to 3½d. per pair for finishing trousers, for which they have to find their own cotton and thread. They have also to deliver the goods themselves, or to pay their carriage to Abingdon.

The women of Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire are largely engaged in another sorely-sweated industry—the making of straw-plait. The work is paid for by the score yards, at from 1½d. or 2d. (for four-straw "rustic") to 5d., or for the most difficult kinds, such as 16-straw brilliant, 6d. or 7d. per score. In some cases the straw seems to be found by the dealer; generally the worker has to pay for it. Thus, when the Van visited Great Olfley, women were there making an 11-straw plait in two colours at 5d. per score, from which about 2d. must be deducted for the straw. A woman whom the lecturer interviewed at Hemel Hempstead was making "7-straw split." She had to provide herself with a "mill" costing half-a-crown, and a "machine" (4d.) for splitting the straws. A bundle of white straws cost 5d., and one of blue straws, 3d., which *must* be bought from the dealer to whom the plait is sold. The straws will work up, if good, into about five score of plait. If the plait is exceptionally good, the price paid is 4d. per score, but the price is liable to arbitrary reduction if the dealer is not satisfied. The five score would, therefore, not bring more than 1s. 8d., from which 8d. must be deducted for the cost of the straw. "If I commence about nine in the morning and leave off at nine at night," said the woman, "doing some house work between whiles, I can do 25 yards, which will bring me in 'clear' about *threepence*. It is poor enough pay, but as I have the children to look after I can do nothing else." Where this sort of work is largely done, the homes of the labourers are grievously neglected, and intemperance is said to be prevalent. There is no doubt that the dealers form a "ring," in whose hands the poor workers are absolutely helpless. When the "Red Van" visited the Tring Plait Market on September 8th, the dealers, taking advantage of the fact that harvest was nearly over, and that many men whose wives were plaiters, were out of work, were reducing the already starvation prices by a half-penny or more per score yards!

The hat-making appears to be but little better. The women who make men's "boaters," for instance, are paid by the "score" at 2½d. or 3d. As a "boater" will take about three-quarters of a score of plait, the nett price for making, after paying for thread, is about three-halfpence per hat.

SLAVERY IN EAST WILTS.

The wages of the ordinary day-labourer in East Wilts are 10/-, or less per week, and he is, of course, liable to dismissal any day, practically without notice. But there is a numerous class of workers in this pastoral district who enjoy a certain security of tenure under agreements, signed by "master" and "servant" at or about Michaelmas, and constituting a hiring for a year. The terms of agreement for cowmen, shepherds, and

THE SERVANT hereby agrees to serve the MASTER from Old Michaelmas, 1889, to Old Michaelmas, 1890, to the best of his ability, more particularly in the capacity of Cowman, but also in any work that may be required of him within his power when not employed in the particular service for which he is hired, and to work and lodge, when required, on any of the farms in the occupation of the MASTER.

In return for the above services the Master agrees to pay the servant *Seven Shillings per week* to *Old Lady Day next* thence to *Old Michaelmas*, 1890, *Eight Shillings per week* And at the expiration of his term, if he shall have conducted himself to the entire satisfaction of his MASTER during the said term, and ONLY in SUCH CASE to give him over and above his wages, *Thirty-five Shillings*. It is also agreed that any case found to be only partially milked the Servant shall submit to be fined a sum not exceeding Two Shillings and Sixpence;

IT IS ALSO HEREBY AGREED:—That should the said SERVANT be prevented by accident, sickness, or any other cause whatever, from attending to his duties, an amount equivalent to the time he is so incapacitated shall be deducted from his wages; and it is further agreed, that should there be any negligence or misconduct on the part of the

† The Shepherds' agreements omit all the italicised words after "Agent."

Another agreement for a Shepherd (aged 18), fixes the wages at nine shillings a week, with an additional forty-five shillings "if he shall have conducted himself, etc," but no house. There is in this case no stipulation as to the number of lambs.

will be noted that this agreement is for the year 1830-9, copies of all agreements being impossible to obtain, and that Jesse Couzens, long employed to do the work of a *cowman*, was then under age, the lecturer with the Wiltshire Yan had an opportunity of comparing above agreement with that for the year 1802-3, and found that the difference in the latter case was that the weekly wage was fixed at the *cowman* having by this time attained to the dignity of man's status. It goes without saying that the agreements presume a working week of seven days; it will be noted that no limit is fixed to the number of working hours per day. In view of the recent discussions on employers' liability, the last clause of the agreement has a special interest, namely referred to in the agreement lived in the house occupied by his wife, a shepherd; neither lodging nor food being provided by "the employer."

Mr. Saunders.—To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if his attention has been called to a new document of agreement, published in the *Weekly Times and Echo* of 14 June last, between a farmer and a labourer in East Wilt, binding the labourer to be always at his work at all hours and times required in his capacity of cowman, and to milk ten cows or more at each milking for seven shillings per week, subject to fines of twopence per quarter of an hour for being late in the morning or otherwise absent, and two and sixpence for any cow found to be only partially milked:

And will he state whether such facts are a violation of the Truck Act or otherwise illegal; and, if so, will he ascertain if such agreements are general in East Wilt, and adopt measures to stop the practice.

My attention has been called to the memorandum of agreement referred to. The effect of a recent decision (*Hewlett v. Allen*) is, I am advised, not that fines are illegal, but that deductions from wages on account of fines are not authorised, and therefore are prohibited by the Truck Act. I do not think there is any occasion to make any further inquiry into the matter.

Another question which has come very prominently to the front in connection with the work of the 'Red Vans' during 1893 is that of the tenure of labourers' cottages. A resolution passed at the Conference already referred to* led to a very extensive correspondence with Members of Parliament and others. A proposed new clause, extending to England and Wales the provisions of the Labourers Acts (Ireland, 1883-1892, for the erection and improvement of labourers' cottages was put down by Mr. Cyril Dodd, O.C., M.P., at the request of the Conference, as an

amendment to the Parish Councils Bill, but was struck out by the Speaker as being beyond the scope of the Bill.*

That rural landlords should repudiate all the responsibilities which attach to landholding and convert themselves into mere rent-receivers, is no new thing. But perhaps in no way has the failure of landlords to perform their duties affected the labourers more disastrously than in the case of the cottages.

It is an evil custom with many landlords to let the cottages on their estates *with the land*. The farmer thus acquires a double hold upon the men who work for him. He is not only the work-giver but the house-lord; so long as he occupies the land, especially when the "owner" is an absentee, he is to all intents and purposes the landlord, temporarily invested with the arbitrary powers of his feudal superior. If the labourer offends his "master," *e.g.*, by demanding a "living wage," by agitating for allotments, by voting the wrong colour, by showing sympathy with the "Red Van" agitation, or by allowing his cottage to be used as a meeting place for a Union branch, he can be deprived of his means of livelihood, practically without notice, and evicted from his cottage in eight or fourteen days. This double power is a terrible weapon in the hands of the rural sweater. In villages where all or most of the cottages are "tied," the labourers are reduced to the lowest depths of slavery.†

It is in Wiltshire and Norfolk that the evil of "tied" cottages is most severely felt; in the former county, returns have been obtained from 45 parishes, showing 1,660 tied cottages out of a total of 2,935; in some of the villages every cottage is under the control of the farmer or farmers for whom the men work. The labourers contend that under circumstances like these, the Parish Councils Bill will but mock them with an empty pretence of self-government, for a vote not approved of by the masters of the village will render the voter workless and homeless within a fortnight. If the Liberal party means to make the parish council a reality it had best be prepared for a life and death struggle with landlordism.

Unfortunately, it cannot be said that things are often much better when the landlord retains the cottages under his own control. If the landlord is neglectful the cottages fall into decay, and, no new ones being built, the labourers and their families dwell in ruins, fit only for bats and owls, till their collapse drives their tenants out of the village.

* For detailed accounts of cottage tenures see John S. Hamilton's letter in *Daily Chronicle*, November 14th, 1893; "F.V." on "The Cottage Homes of England," *Echo*, December 16th, 1893, and the correspondence arising therefrom; and George Edwards on "Labourers' Cottages in Norfolk," *Echo*, January 3rd, 1894.

† The Commissioners of Her Majesty's Woods and Forests are the principal landowners and lords of the manor of Bishops Canning, Wilts. They have provided cottages of a much more substantial character than is common in the district, but they let out the land, as other Wiltshire landlords do, in large holdings, and *they let the cottages with the land*, instead of retaining them in their own control, and allowing labourers to hold their cottages from and to pay rent to the Crown. It is a grievous scandal that a public department should thus hand over the labourers, bound hand and foot, to the tender mercies of the farmers.

"MODEL" VILLAGES.

Yet—so surely is landlordism twice cursed; it curses him that owns, and him that is owned—it is hardly to be wondered at that the labourers often prefer even the neglected village slums to the blessings of the "model" village. The landlord who is alive to the responsibilities of his position without realising the essential injustice of it, almost inevitably develops into a benevolent despot. "You mustn't sneeze in this village without the permission of his lordship's agent," said one of Lord Wantage's model villagers. The cottages at Ardington (Berks), at Bulford (Wilts), etc., are better than the average, but what about the men who live in them? There lies in the League office a copy of the agreement in force at Bulford, where Mr. James Lodger Hill—a member of the Shipping Federation, who objects to labourers joining a union!—has, in his capacity of benevolent despot, provided improved cottages (at an improved rent), and against underletting, or taking in lodgers; and the agreement provides for summary eviction for non-payment of rent within 14 days of its becoming due, or "in case there shall be any breach by the tenant in the covenants herein contained." Here are two of the covenants. The landlord agrees to do the external repairs, but

The tenant agrees to keep the interior of the said messuage and all the internal fixtures in or upon and belonging thereto, in good and tenable repair to the satisfaction of the landlord or his agent, and also agrees to keep the garden or land attached thereto in good order, to keep and maintain all hedges and ditches cleaned and trimmed to the satisfaction of the landlord or his agent, to keep all pigsties, outbuildings and closets clean, so that no nuisance may arise therefrom, to keep all gates and paths in good order, to the entire satisfaction of the landlord or his agent. . . . The landlord reserves the right for himself or his agent of entering upon the said premises at any time between the hours of 6 a.m. and 6 p.m. to view the condition thereof, and, if found necessary, to leave notice of all defects and repairs necessary to be done. The landlord reserves to himself the right to stipulate what portion, if any, of the garden shall be used for the cultivation of flowers, and the tenant hereby agrees to use such portion for that purpose only.

"BRITONS NEVER SHALL BE SLAVES."

The discussions on the Parish Councils Bill have invested the question of local self-government in the villages with special interest. Some instances of how villages are governed at present, where landlordism holds undisputed sway, may therefore form a fitting conclusion to the present report. Two instances only need be quoted.

The village and parish of Stanton St. Bernard, in East Wilts, is the property of the Rt. Hon. George Robert Charles Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery and Baron Herbert of Cardiff, J.P.; High Steward of Wilton: of Carlton House Terrace, London, Wilton House, Salisbury, and Mount Merion, co. Dublin; and of the Carlton, Eton and Harrow, St. James's, Marlborough and Travellers' Clubs. His lordship is lord of the manor, sole (absentee) land "owner," patron of the living, receiver of rent and tithes. Of the nearly 2,000 acres of land in the parish about 10 are glebe. The noble owner lets the rest, together with all the cottages, to two farmers. The two farmers, besides controlling the cultivation of all the land in the parish and the tenancy of

practically all the cottages, are the churchwardens, the overseers of the poor and the school managers. One of them has charge of the rate-book. Nothing could well be simpler than this system of parish government. The labourer who wants to work in the parish must obtain employment on the Earl of Pembroke's land under one of the Earl of Pembroke's two farmers, who will house him in one of the Earl's cottages, deducting the rent from his weekly wages. He sends his children to the "national" school (managed by the Earl of Pembroke's farmers), and "goes on Sunday to the church" where, under the eyes of the two churchwardens (Lord P.'s farmers again), he "sits under" the clergyman appointed to the parish (by the Earl of Pembroke). When he gets too old to work, or is reduced to hopeless poverty by misfortune, he must apply for poor-law relief to the same two farmers. If, in spite of all these arrangements for his comfort, he is still discontented with his lot, there is no building—not even the schoolroom, which is largely subsidised out of the taxes—in which he can meet to take counsel with his fellows, unless he first obtain the permission of the Earl of Pembroke's farmers. If the parish of Stanton St. Bernard were a slave estate, owned by the Earl of Pembroke, and managed by two overseers on the Earl's behalf, the condition of the inhabitants could hardly be more completely one of slavery than it is to-day.

The village and parish of Compton Chamberlayne, near Salisbury, entirely "belongs" to Charles Penruddocke, Esq., D.L., J.P., of Compton Park, Fyfield and Baverstocke, Wilts, and Bratton St. Maur, Somerset; and is entirely farmed by John Keovil and Walter Keovil his son. The Messrs. Keovil control the cottages and manage the schools. The father is overseer and churchwarden; the son is assistant overseer and clerk to the Burial Board. There is no club or reading-room in the parish, perhaps because the labourers—who are, some of them, incredibly badly paid—have no time or inclination for reading after they have done a long day's work for the farmer and put in a little overtime on their allotments (for which they pay £5 13s. 4d. per acre.)

THE LANDLORD AS CONFISCATOR.

Another story from a parish visited by the Van, and reported on by the Wiltshire lecturer, shows that the evils of the leasehold system are by no means confined to London.

"The parish of Heytesbury comprises 4,762 acres. Every inch of land, other than the public road, is 'owned' by William Frederick A. Court Holmes, Baron Heytesbury of Heytesbury House, Wilts, and Westover, Isle of Wight, and of the Travellers' and Carlton Clubs, London."

"Lord Heytesbury never disposes of the freehold of any portion of 'his' parish. Many years ago his ancestor permitted a number of the parishioners, for a consideration down and an annual rent, to erect valuable buildings in the parish at their own expense, on condition that such buildings should become the absolute property of the Lords of Heytesbury at the termination of the life or lives of those concerned. To-day there is only one house in the place which has not 'fallen in' to the Heytesburys. This house is occupied by a widow, and as the termination of the lease is now approaching, it is said that Lord H.'s steward is constantly visiting the premises and pointing out that such and such repairs must be done at once—of course, at the tenant's expense."

* The family motto is *Gravescunt aucta labore*.

"Thirty years ago there were 1,200 people in Heytesbury; now there are only 800, and it is said that in the meantime over 100 cottages have been either burned or pulled down."

"In 1841 James Bartlett purchased from Jonathan Dunn, of Heytesbury, a leasehold grocer's shop, the lease having 99 years to run subject to three lives. Mr. Bartlett paid £221 to Dunn and a quitrent of 3s. per annum to Lord Heytesbury. He carried on the business of a grocer and general dealer, making considerable additions to the premises. In 1851 he transferred the business to his son-in-law, John Thorne, who spent over £1,000 in additions and repairs during his tenancy of 23 years. Mr. Thorne retired in 1874, the business being taken over by his son-in-law, David Davies, who paid £500 for the stock. Mr. Davies had been apprenticed in London to a chemist and dentist, and to the general business he now added his own profession, the annual turnover averaging between £3,000 and £4,000. During his tenancy Mr. Davies has spent a further sum of £300 in extension and repairs."

"In 1888 the last 'life' on the premises fell in and Lord Heytesbury raised the quit-rent to £20, the tenant to pay all taxes and execute all repairs. In addition to the house and business premises, Mr. Davies, during the past two years, has been renting 17 acres of land from Lord Heytesbury at an average rental of over £2 an acre. Finding it was not profitable to retain the land at this rent he gave notice to the steward of his desire to relinquish it. Lord Heytesbury replied by giving him notice to relinquish the tenancy of all the land and premises at Michaelmas, 1893. This was a great blow to Mrs. Davies, whose people had lived on the premises for three generations. She therefore made a special request that his lordship would allow them to stay for a few years longer. The steward replied that Lord Heytesbury's decision was final and irrevocable, and the noble lord himself declined to give any reason, or to grant an interview, or to enter into correspondence on the subject."

"Shortly afterwards Mr. Davies was offered £300 for his fixtures and goodwill, but on approaching Lord Heytesbury for permission to dispose of his own business, he was informed that his lordship could not allow Mr. Davies to arrange with anyone to become the future tenant."

"Meanwhile, Mr. Davies had discovered that he could not legally be compelled to quit until Lady-Day, 1894. He is now staying on until that date, when he and his family, who have lived on the premises for sixty years, will be turned out of his home, and £2,000—representing the cost of improvements and value of goodwill—will be confiscated."

THE MORAL OF IT ALL.

"*Land being the dwelling-place, storeroom and workshop of men—the natural element necessary to labour and life—it cannot be treated as the private property of individuals without enabling the idle to live upon the industrious, and giving to individuals undue control of the industry, happiness and lives of their fellows.*"—(From the Manifesto of the English Land Restoration League; first issued in 1884.)

The "Red Van" Fund.

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE, Dec. 16, 1892—Jan. 2, 1894 (54½ Weeks).

Receipts.	£	s.	d.	Expenditure.	£	s.	d.
Cash in Bank, Dec. 16, 1892	4	4	2	Five Vans—Repairs, Fittings and Utensils ..	34	14	5
Subscriptions (as per list on p. 23) ..	1,044	1	6	SALARIES:			
Literature sold	10	14	0	Lecturers (including Preliminary			
Advertisements ("Red Van Report") ..	13	0	0	Meetings)	£790	13	10
Sale of Temporary Van (less Commission) ..	13	10	0	Drumming (including Horse hire) ..	258	2	0
				Organising Expenses at Central			
				Office (54½ weeks)	124	16	3
				Travelling Expenses (including Preliminary and	653	12	1
				Special Meetings)	46	13	6½
				Printing and Typewriting	190	18	1
				Postages, Telegrams, Parcels, and Poundage on			
				Admission Tickets, and Distributing ..	78	7	5
				Standing for Vans, and Tolls	4	13	9
				Oil, Washing, Candles, and Sundries ..	9	6	4½
				Stationery, Maps, Directories, and Parliamentary			
				Papers	13	9	8
				Wages—Vans during winter in London ..	12	0	0
				Reception to Lecturers and Conference of			
				Unions—Refreshments, &c.	3	8	9
				Legal Expenses	15	19	6
				Insurance	0	3	0
				Bank Charges	2	10	4
				Cash in Bank, Jan. 2nd, 1894 ..	£7	0	0
				" in Sec's. hands	4	8	9
					11	8	9
					£1,079	9	8

£1,079 9 8

Examined with the bank-book and vouchers and found correct.
London, 9th February, 1894.

SAMUEL J. BOYCE,
Chartered Accountant.

List of Subscriptions.

Guarantors' Sub-	£	s.	d.	Forward	£	s.	d.
scriptions...	1,000	0	0	Ivens, P.	1,031	18	6
				Labour Church (Halifax) ..	0	1	0
				" Land Ahead "	0	10	0
				Lupton, Arnold	0	5	0
				Macrae, Rev. D.	0	10	0
				Napier, Capt.	0	2	6
				" Oxonian "	0	2	6
				Phillips, E. R.	1	0	0
				Pike, Chas.	0	1	0
				Presbury, H. H.	0	10	0
				Reed, Thomas	0	10	0
				Smith, A. R.	0	2	6
				Smith, Frank, L.C.C. ..	0	1	0
				(per)			
				Soden, H. B.	0	2	6
				Squire, H. H.	0	2	6
				" (2nd don.)	0	5	0
				Caudle, Wm.	0	2	6
				Curtis, Thos.	0	2	6
				" Cynicus "	1	0	0
				Dodd, T. R.	0	5	0
				Edmonstone, Miss ..	0	1	6
				Fitzgerald, C. L.	0	10	0
				Fowke, W. D.	0	10	0
				Gaskell, G. A.	0	10	0
				Hickmott, A.	0	2	6
				Honychurch, W.	0	2	6
				Howson, Alfd.	0	5	0
				Forward	£1,031	18	6
					£1,044	1	6

The Executive of the English Land Restoration League earnestly appeal to all readers of this Report, who find themselves in sympathy with the work of the "Red Vans," for contributions towards the maintenance and extension of that work during the season of 1894.

Subscriptions or Donations towards the Special "Red Van Fund," or towards the General Fund of the League, will be gratefully acknowledged, and should be sent to the General Secretary, E.L.R.L., 8 Duke Street Adelphi, London, W.C.

English Land Restoration League.

OBJECT. To improve the condition

METHOD. The transfer of all waste land to the hands of the people and the working of the same on the basis of the principle of the "Land to the People" scheme.

MEMBERSHIP. Open to all who are in sympathy with the cause.

OFFICES. 8, Little Street, E.C.4, London, W.C.

BY HENRY GEORGE

- "Taxing Land Values" (2nd ed.) 3d. 3d. 3d. per 100
- "Land and People" (2nd ed.) 3d. 3d. 3d. per 100
- "Scotland and Settlement" 10s. 0d. 0d. 0d. per 100
- "Land and Taxation" 10s. 0d. 0d. 0d. per 100
- "George and David" 10s. 0d. 0d. 0d. per 100
- "Progress and Poverty" 10s. 0d. 0d. 0d. per 100
- "Social Problems" 10s. 0d. 0d. 0d. per 100
- "Protection and Free Trade" 10s. 0d. 0d. 0d. per 100
- "The Condition of Labour" 10s. 0d. 0d. 0d. per 100

- "The Other Side of Landlordism" 10s. 0d. 0d. 0d. per 100
- "Our Inheritance in the Earth" 10s. 0d. 0d. 0d. per 100
- "Nine Tents and Mineral Royalties" 10s. 0d. 0d. 0d. per 100
- "The Taxation of Ground Values" 10s. 0d. 0d. 0d. per 100
- "Christian Economics, with reference to the Land Question" 10s. 0d. 0d. 0d. per 100
- "Social and Labour Problems in England, and the First step to their solution" 10s. 0d. 0d. 0d. per 100
- "The Land in its Relation to National Prosperity" 10s. 0d. 0d. 0d. per 100
- "The True Basis of Reform of the Material Condition of the Poor" 10s. 0d. 0d. 0d. per 100
- "Local Rights and Interests of Farm Labourers" 10s. 0d. 0d. 0d. per 100
- "Poverty, Taxation, and the Reform" 10s. 0d. 0d. 0d. per 100
- "The Land and the Community" 10s. 0d. 0d. 0d. per 100
- "Land and Labour: An Enquiry into the Causes and Effects of the Depopulation of the Rural Districts" 10s. 0d. 0d. 0d. per 100

For Spoken in the U.S.A. and U.K. by the author. One of the best ways of spreading the cause of the League is to have a copy of the above books. Pamphlets, etc., and to distribute them CAREFULLY. MISTRUSTING "SPREAD THE LIGHT"

TO THE WORKERS

OF VILLAGES AND TOWNS.

Why not make the most of it?

STARTING A WORKMEN'S CLUB,

where you sit down after work to rest and smoke your pipe and read and discuss the news of the day, your own club.

Talk over your club with your friends and the workers.

Make plans and begin your club at once.

Hold your first meeting and discuss your club and the workers.

For full information see the book "Model Rules for such a Club," which gives the full.

Working Men's Club & Institute Union,

CLERKENWELL ROAD, LONDON, E.C.1.

Where it is a pleasure to meet and discuss the news of the day and the workers.

If you can arrange a meeting of the club and the workers.

Speaker Free of Charge,

and your club will be

H. I. HALL

SECRETARY

English Union Revolutionary Workers

TO THE WORKERS

in Villages and Towns.

Why not make life pleasanter by

STARTING A WORKMEN'S CLUB,

where you can meet after work is over and smoke your pipe and read and discuss the news of the day in your own club room.

Talk over questions which affect the welfare of the workers.

Have Music and Singing, and Games of all kinds.

Hold your Union meetings and transact your business away from the public house.

For full information how to do this, and for **Model Rules** for such a **Club**, send a letter to the

Working Men's Club & Institute Union,
CLERKENWELL ROAD, LONDON, E.C.,

Which is a Federation of nearly 500 of these Clubs and Institutes, and supported and managed by workmen.

If you can arrange a meeting to talk about starting a club, the Union will send you a

Speaker Free of Charge,

on your applying to

B. T. HALL,

SECRETARY.

ADVERTISEMENTS.]

BLISS, SANDS & FOSTER.

- The -

Story of my Dictatorship.

The Latest Work on the Land Question.

Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

"A wide controversy is opened by a vigorous writer in reply to whom it seems necessary that the defenders of the present system should have something to say."—SCOTSMAN.

"Certainly clever and eminently suggestive—if only of a telling reply from the other side."—GLASGOW HERALD.

"Vivacious and interesting."—LITERARY WORLD.

"Deserves to be widely read."—LABOUR TRIBUNE.

London: 15 Craven Street, Strand.

THE WORKS OF CYNICUS.

POPULAR EDITIONS.

The Satires of Cynicus	Price 3/6
The Humours of Cynicus	" 3/6
Symbols and Metaphors... ..	" 3/6
Cartoons, Social and Political	" 3/6

(In preparation.)

Hand Coloured Editions of above are also in Stock. Prices on application.

N.B.—Any Picture or Cartoon from the Works of CYNICUS can be had separately on fine Cardboard, beautifully coloured by hand, suitable for framing or for portfolios, at 1/- each, of all printsellers, &c.

Also, Ready Shortly,

A SELECTION FROM THE POPULAR WORKS OF CYNICUS,

Price 1/-, of all Booksellers.

CYNICUS PUBLISHING CO., 59 DRURY LANE, LONDON, W.C.

R. McALLAN, PRINTER, LUDGATE CIRCUS.

1124 32722

**END OF
TITLE**